THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.
Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

VOL. II.—No. 6. SATURDAY, APRIL 24TH, 1915. PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

All donations in money or kind should be addressed to the Financial Secretary of the E.L.F.S. :—
Miss N. L. Smyth,
400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS.

Sunday, April 25th, 3 p.m.—Hyde Park—Miss Fedden. Chair: Mrs. Walker.
8 p.m.—Bow Women's Hall—Miss Fedden, Mrs. Drake, Miss S. Pankhurst.
Monday, April 26th, 8 p.m.—Poplar, Vesey Street—Mrs. Drake, Mr. Everett.
8 p.m.—Powerscroft Rd.—Mrs. Walker.
8 p.m.—'Peacock'—Mrs. Bouvier. Chair Miss Manicom.
Tuesday, April 27th, 2.30 p.m.—175 Dalston Lane, N.E.—Miss Manicom and others.
3 p.m.—Bow Women's Hall—Mrs. Thomson. Chair: Miss Beamish.
8 p.m.—Limehouse, Salmon Lane—Mrs. Walker. Chair: Miss Beamish.
8 p.m. — Poplar Women's Hall — Mrs. Drake, Miss Mary Richardson.
8 p.m.—53 St. Leonard St.—Mrs. Walshe.
Wednesday, April 28th, 8 p.m.—Chrisp St.—Mrs. Drake.
8 p.m.—Ford Road—Miss Feek.
Thursday, April 29th, 8 p.m.—124 Barking Rd.—Mrs. Parsons, Miss M. Richardson
8 p.m.—175 Dalston Lane—Mr. Everett. Chair: Miss Manicom.
Friday, April 30th, 3 p.m.—Poplar Women's Hall—Mrs. Bouvier.
8 p.m.—Poplar, Piggott St.—Mr. Mackinlay.
8 p.m.—Beckton Rd.—Mrs. Walker.
8 p.m.—Forest Gate Stat'n—Mrs. Bouvier
Sunday, May 2nd, at 3 p.m.—Victoria Park—Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. Mackiulay.
8 p.m. — Poplar Women's Hall — Miss Alison Neilans, Mr. Everett, Mrs. Drake
8 p.m.—Bow Women's Hall—Mrs. Davies and others.

To reach Old Ford Road take an Old Ford 'bus (No. 8), which goes via the Marble Arch, Oxford St., the Bank and Liverpool St., or book to Old Ford Station on the North London Railway.

SUFFRAGE CLUBS. Poplar, 20 Railway St., 7 to 10 p.m., Tuesdays and Fridays.
Bow, 400 Old Ford Road, Fridays 7 to 10 p.m.

MOTHERS AND BABIES.

We urgently need subscriptions to help us to pay the heavy milk bill for our centres in Bow, Bromley, Poplar and Canning Town ; also gifts of :

EGGS.

For invalids and babies who are too ill to digest milk, and are given the white of egg beaten up in water.

ARROWROOT, BARLEY & RICE, BORACIC POWDER, BORACIC LINT, VASELINE, ZINC OINTMENT, COD LIVER OIL AND MALT, GLAXO AND VIROL.

We lend necessitous mothers outfits for their babies, for the first months.

FOR BABY.

Four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests and a cot blanket.

FOR MOTHER.

Two nightgowns, a woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets and one pair pillowcases.

Doctor's attendances and baby weighing 400 Old Ford Rd., Bow, Mondays 2.30 p.m.; 20 Railway St., Poplar, Mondays 3 p.m.; 53 St. Leonard's St., Thursdays 2.30 p.m.; 14 Butcher's Rd., Canning Town,

Mothers may have the leaflets on baby-feeding by applying at any of the centres.

OUR COST-PRICE RESTAURANTS

400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
20 Railway Street, Poplar.
53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley.

Two-course meals 2d. (children 1d.)
Soup 1d. a pint with a piece of bread.

Will you send us a gift of provisions to reduce our bills, which are growing rapidly with the rising prices ?

OUR FACTORY.

Price lists for our toys, garments and shoes may be had on application to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Help us to produce skilled work at a living wage.

A CALL TO THE WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE.

GOVERNMENT REFUSES PASSPORTS.

This is the Appeal that the Women of Holland sent out :—

"From many countries appeals have come asking us to call together an International Women's Congress to discuss what the women of the world can do and ought to do in the dreadful times in which we are now living.

A RUSSIAN POLITICAL PRISONER. [See next page.

"Women are waiting to be called together. The world is looking to them for their contribution toward the solution of the great problems of to-day."

This call is signed by the Executive Committee, consisting of Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, President ; Dr. Mia Boissevain, Vice President and Secretary ; Rosa Manus, Secretary ; F. J. Vattier Kraane-Daendels, Treasurer.

BRITISH RESPONSE.

Numbers of British women responded to this appeal, a National Committee was formed and upwards of 200 women delegates decided to attend the Congress at the Hague which begins on April 28th.

PASSPORTS AND PERMITS REFUSED.

When the delegates applied for passports all sorts of new regulations and delays were put in their way and they called time after time at the Foreign Office without definite result.

Finally on Friday last, April 16th, those who went personally to make enquiries were curtly told : "We are not issuing any permits to attend this Congress," and next day those who had not called received the following printed circular.

MEMORANDUM.

It is regretted that your application for a permit to proceed to Holland cannot be granted. Your passport is returned herewith.

PERMIT OFFICES,
DOWNING STREET, S.W.
Date 16th April, 1915.

Is this the first fruit won by this war that is supposed to be fought for freedom, and in order that democratic government shall prevail over autocratic government.

What an extraordinary thing it is that Great Britain, the boasted "Home of the Free," should take the initiative in preventing her women from attending the Conference though no obstacle has been placed in the path of the women of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Belgium or any other land !

"Mr. McKenna eventually selected 20 women "of discretion" to go to the Congress, but although they were pleading for their permits at the Home Office all the time and even saw him personally more than once, he kept them waiting until the boats had stopped running."

Women's Exhibition **CAXTON HALL,**
MAY 10, 11 & 12. 3 to 10 p.m.

TOY MAKING EXHIBIT
Arranged by the E.L.F.S.
SWEATED INDUSTRIES
Arranged by Dr. Tchaykovsky.
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE EXHIBIT
Arranged by International Suffrage Shop.
FOOD PRICES EXHIBIT
Arranged by Miss Margaretta Hicks.

SPEAKERS from all the SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES

Admission 1s., after 7 p.m. 6d.
SEASON TICKETS, 2s. 6d.

RESOLUTIONS sent in by E.L.F.S.

That the International Congress of Women calls for the abolition of all secret treaties and alliances and ententes between groups of nations, and urges all the nations to unite in entering into a permanent peace treaty.

Resolution.

That a committee be appointed by the International Congress of Women to prepare a scheme for the democratization of the International Court of Arbitration and for the extension of its scope and power to enforce its decisions.

To consider :—

(1) Proposals to secure *(a)* a fair representation of each nation *(b)* democratic proportional representation for the men and women of each nation.

(2) Proposal for International action by the Court on such subjects as White Slavery, sweating, the importation and exportation of sweated goods, lead poisoning etc.

(3) Proposals for enforcing the decrees of the Court, either by an International Police Force, International boycott or treaty obligations, and for limiting or abolishing national armies and navies, in order to secure that international forces shall have paramount power.

OUR AT HOME,

Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Speakers : Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mrs. DRAKE, Mrs. WALKER, Mrs. BOUVIER, Dr. TCHAYKOVSKY, Mr. GEO. LANSBURY.

Music : Miss HELSBY, Miss ESPAGNE, Mr. ERIC CHAPPELOW, Mr. WILMOT.

All members should attend. Friends by invitation.

SWEATING IN KHAKI WORK STILL CONTINUES.

Clingers in Mare Street, Hackney, pay 1s. 8d. a dozen for finishing soldiers' trousers. Fifers in the Roman Road pay 2s. a dozen, Mendes at the corner of Bethnal Green Road, 3s. a dozen.

For finishing soldiers' coats all but the buttons, Mendes pay 4d. each, Diamond and Beaver, 1 Railway Place, Cambridge Road, pay 2½d. for the same work on piece rates, and on time rates much less. They pay adult workers 14s. and 15s. a week, working from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., and 8 to 1 on Saturdays, and girls 5s. to 9s. a week.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

At a Mansion House meeting at York on the 10th April, Miss Thornton, a Board of Trade representative, quoted Mr. Lloyd George's letter to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst as having "amplified" the agreement which resulted from the Treasury Conference between Mr. Lloyd George and the men's labour representatives.

We must protest against the correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst being used to make women believe that women's sweated labour will not be employed to reduce the wages of men. Mr. Lloyd George stated in his reply to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's first letter, that "women undertaking the work of men would get the same *piecework* rates as men were receiving before the date of this agreement."

Miss Pankhurst then wrote asking for an assurance that if women are employed on *time* rates to replace men, these rates shall be the same as those that were hitherto paid to men. To this letter, which was sent on March 26th, Miss Pankhurst has no reply ; but at the Conference of Women's Societies, which was called at the Board of Trade on April 13th, Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, said that in regard to Government contracts, whilst it had been decided that the same piece work rates should be paid to women as to men, *in regard to time rates, no special conditions had been laid down for women's labour. The general safeguard against women being used to displace men was that employers were being asked to take back those of their men who had served in the army.*

These words plainly show that there is absolutely no guarantee that women shall not be employed to do men's work at a lower rate. Whether the work of men has hitherto been paid by piece or by time, there is nothing to prevent women being engaged to do men's work on time rates only, in which case the Government has expressly stated that it will exact no conditions.

From the woman's point of view it is unjust that women should be employed to do men's work at a lower rate ; from the man's point of view, it is disastrous ! Guarantees to take men back into employment after the War is over can never be enforced, and if any proof of this were needed, we may find it in the fact that promises by employers to make allowances to the wives of

(Continued on page 236, col. 3).

WOMEN JOIN THE
East London Federation of the Suffragettes
You need us; we need you.

I wish to become a member of the EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

Name.....

Address.....

I enclose 1½d, to cover membership and postage.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

Suffragette wants work on poultry farm; would do house work whilst learning the trade.

Married woman wants two or three days' cleaning weekly.

Married woman wants two or three days' weekly cleaning.

Tailoress. Girl 18 years, has been tailor's presser. Any work.

Married woman, silk weaver, any kind of work.

Young Married Woman. Charing.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED. Superintendent of a temporary holiday home for children in Essex. Apply: Mrs. McLachlan, 18 Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

I enclose 4s. 4d. for a year's WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT.

Name.....

Address.....

The
Woman's Dreadnought.

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes,
400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.
Telephone EAST 1787.

Agents:—INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 11 Adam St. Strand, W.C.; CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING Co., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL & Co., Temple Avenue, E.C.
can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH and SONS, and Messrs. WILLING.

Annual Subscription: Post free, 4s. 4d.

Vol. II. No. 6.—Sat. April 24th, 1915.

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service.

SELF-DENIAL WEEK.

DEAR FRIENDS,—On Friday we begin our E.L.F.S. Self-Denial Week. We urgently need more money for every branch of our activities.

Our Federation has very much to do for women. On every hand we see wrongs to be righted, obstacles to be scaled. So let us all pull together with a will, and we shall accomplish very great things.

Yours in Freedom's Cause,

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE PERPETUAL STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM.

By the story of Marie Sukloff,* a Russian exile, we are reminded that, even whilst this temporary war is raging, and after it shall be done, that greater struggle for human freedom which is bounded neither by creed, nor race, nor country, continues without pause.

This child, who at 14 became a revolutionary and at 20 a terrorist, was born in September, 1885, and lived her first 14 years in a little old ricketty thatched hut, containing but two rooms, one for the tools and animals, and one for the human beings. Her father was a Jewish peasant proprietor, and possessed about 22 acres of poor land, mostly clay, a couple of cows, one or two horses, and a dozen or so of chickens.

Each village in Russia has its common grazing land. The land of this village, Borovoi-Mlin, was very poor, and the herd often returned home hungry, but next to it was an immense pasturage, which belonged to a priest who lived far away. The guardian of the pasture fined the poor villagers a *rouble* for every horse or cow that strayed on to this land, locking the animal into a barn without food, sometimes even till it died, until the money was paid.

Thus, on the one hand was the forbidden pasture, on the other a dense forest, which belonged to the Government, and from which no one might take a log, under pain of imprisonment, which might be for two years. As the peasants could not otherwise get wood for their stoves in the long harsh winter, the town jails were always full.

The tax collector was the terror of the district. When Marie Sukloff was six years old her mother, "the only one in the family who knew how to make ends meet," fell ill as the result of an accident. Whilst the father was away working in the field, the mother lying speechless in bed, and only the baby and two little girls, the eldest of whom was eleven, to receive him, the tax collector called. He walked into the room, and without parley or question, seized the Samovar and a pair of silver candlesticks, the only things of value in the place, and carried them away in a bag.

Some few of the boys of the district were sent to school at four or five years, and stayed there for three or four years, learning, not to read or write, but to chant hymns and psalms. The girls did not go to school.

Most of the children were at eight years old sent to the near by town of Smorgan to work. Marie Sukloff became a grocer's assistant at eleven. She was paid 15 roubles (about 30s.) for the winter, and was discharged in the spring, because her manner with customers was considered too "rustic."

She was then apprenticed to a tailor for two years, working the first for nothing, and the second being promised 25 roubles. But towards the end of the time a secret organisation of workmen, called the Bund, declared a strike for a ten hour day. The workmen of Smorgan joined, and with them Marie Sukloff, who was discharged without wages.

Shortly afterwards, Hannah, the 17-years old daughter of the Smorgan rabbi, called on the Sukloffs, and as she was leaving, on this first visit, whispered to Marie to come to her house the following Saturday, and to tell no one. Afterwards, Marie and other young girls met Hannah each Saturday afternoon, and sat together with door locked and blinds down, whilst Hannah read aloud history, geography, and forbidden socialist and social-revolutionary books. On Friday evenings Hannah secretly taught Marie to read.

When Marie was barely 14, the Bund declared a strike of stocking weavers, and sent a young woman to organise it in the Smorgan district. A meeting of girls, of whom Hannah was the eldest, met in the forest. The agitator spoke, and Marie was thrilled when she heard her say: "There will come a day when there will be neither rich nor poor, all will be equal. We will make it come. Only we must unite for the struggle."

Without saying anything to her family Marie then agreed to go next day with Hannah to Slonim, a city to which it took them five days to drive, in order that they might induce the stocking weavers there to strike. On their arrival they merely walked about the town looking into every house until they could find a stocking machine.

After a long search Marie found such a house, went in and explained her mission, declaring that soon "there would be neither rich nor poor. The people of the house were carried away with enthusiasm, prepared a meal for the two girl strangers, and sent for other weavers, to whom Marie spoke. Next day a meeting of all the stocking weavers in the city was called. It was held in a Jewish synagogue, in semi-darkness. In the midst of it there was a shout of "police," the candles were extinguished, the audience fled, and Hannah and Marie at once left the city to escape arrest.

Thus the author reveals to us a strange revolutionary movement amongst children, in which elder people, although, perhaps, they are in the back ground, appear to take no part.

When she returned home Marie was beaten by her mother, who burnt her books, and feared that she would become a "nihilist." Her father, too, was afraid, but treated her kindly, and evidently sympathised with her desire to learn. He agreed to send her to his brother in Odessa.

Three pillows and a feather bed were an essential traditional part of the dowry of the Jewish girls of the district, and with three pillows, a few coarse towels, a piece of home-spun linen, and a new long brown dress, Marie set off for Odessa. She had also a letter of introduction from Hannah to some of her revolutionary friends.

Marie's uncle was a teacher. He was struggling on a small salary to give a good education to his seven children. Marie at once presented Hannah's letter of introduction, which was to one of the Social Democratic leaders, who promised to send a teacher to visit her, and gave her a number of leaflets. These she offered to her uncle and cousins, feeling sure that they would be glad to have them, but they rejected them with fear and horror, and her uncle said: "This is not the village. Don't look for truth *here*, because it will get you into prison."

A few days later she ran away from her uncle's house and went to stay with a girl of 22, a member of the Social Democratic Party, who helped Marie to get work in a sweet factory, where she earned from 7 to 37 kopecks a day (1¾d. to 9¼d.).

Now Marie became part of the young people's revolutionary movement. She and five others lived together: her friend Zhenia (a factory girl), David (a clerk), Grigory (a bookbinder), Nicolai (a painter), and Ivan (a student), who taught the others. They lived a life of gay enthusiasm, sharing their earnings, and caring nothing if finances necessitated that they should wait till evening before breakfasting. They went for work from factory to factory, only remaining long enough to organise a strike. They established secret printing presses, and printed and distributed thousands of leaflets. There were many other such circles in the city, whose members worked in similar ways, posting their literature in the streets at night, scattering them in the roads for workmen to pick up, throwing them into factory yards, or flinging them down from the gallery of the theatre. For this last Marie herself narrowly escaped arrest. When she and her friends had thrown their leaflets, policemen rushed into the gallery. An usher seized Marie and called for her arrest, but she was torn away by the crowd, a handkerchief was thrown over her head, and she passed unnoticed.

Just at this time a new organisation called the "Social Revolutionists' Party" was formed. Marie Sukloff left the Social Democratic Party to join the new Party, because one of its fundamental planks was "Land for the Peasants."

A new printing office was needed: Marie, who was now 17 years of age, undertook to arrange it, but one night her lodgings were searched, and she was arrested because some pieces of type were found in the pocket of her dress. Her aged landlord, who knew absolutely nothing, was also imprisoned for a long time.

Marie was kept for more than a year in a damp, badly-lit cell, with a small window near the ground, through which only the bottom of the opposite wall could be seen. During this time she saw no one but the men guards.

Just after her second Easter in prison she heard unusual sounds. A *pogrom*, or massacre, of the Jews was taking place, which lasted for two days and two nights. Jews rushed into the prison for protection, but this was stopped by the authorities. On the third day the police began to arrest the rioters, who were so drunk that they could scarcely walk.

A few days later, Marie Sukloff was called before the authorities, and charged with belonging to a secret society, conspiring against the Czar, establishing a secret printing office, and, although she was herself a Jewess, and had been in prison more than a year, with distributing a forbidden proclamation, which had instigated the massacre of the Jews which had just taken place.

The prison was now very full. Marie's cell was shared by a Mrs. Orloff and her baby. One day Mrs. Orloff called "good morning" to her husband, who was also a prisoner. For this she was ordered to a dark punishment cell. She implored the soldiers who were brought to her cell not to part her from the baby, but the governor himself seized her arms and squeezed them above the elbow until the baby dropped from them to the floor. Meanwhile, the husband, who had knocked on his door in protest, was beaten and tied hand and foot. These, be it remembered, were unconvicted prisoners.

On October 15th, 1903, a year and nine months after her arrest, Marie Sukloff was convicted with others of publishing a forbidden journal, *Iskra* (the spark), with which, in fact, she had had nothing to do. She was also convicted of uttering threats against the Czar, on the strength of letters written to a friend when she was 16. She was sentenced "to be deprived of all rights and exiled to Eastern Siberia for life."

For several months longer she remained in the same prison. Russia was now at war with Japan, and with every Japanese victory, Marie Sukloff says that the severity of the Russian discipline was relaxed. In July 1904, Plehve, the Minister of the Interior, was killed by Yegor Sazonov, a member of the "Fighting League" of the Socialist Revolutionists' Party. Marie Sukloff says that the prison authorities were "greatly elated at the death of their chief," whom she describes as a "pillar of reaction," and themselves brought the news to the prisoners. She adds that "the appointment of Prince Svyatopolk-Mirski as Minister of the Interior put an end, for a short time at least, to the sufferings and hardships which political prisoners were forced to endure."

Yet, immediately, she goes on to describe the most appalling cruelties and indignities which were heaped upon her and her companions. This was in the summer of 1904.

Dressed in grey cotton, with a yellow, diamond-shaped patch between the shoulders, enormous, black slippers and square linen foot-wrappers instead of stockings, Marie Sukloff and other political prisoners were handcuffed to a number of convicts who were being transported to Siberia for robbery and murder, and were marched along the road with them to the station.

The convict railway carriages were filthy, and crowded to their utmost capacity.

The prisoners travelled from town to town, where they were kept sometimes for a night or two, sometimes longer, in overcrowded "forwarding prisons," furnished only with a large wooden tub. In the first "forwarding prison," that of Kief, fifty women and children stayed for three days in one cell, sleeping without bedding or rugs upon the dirty floor. At Tyumén "forwarding prison" in Siberia, which they reached after a three weeks' journey, and where several prisoners died each day from epidemic diseases, they remained three months, until winter had set in, and left in a blinding snowstorm.

They travelled on, as before, for another 16 days, "marching to and fro, in half torn shoes, over roads covered with ice and snow, tormented with hunger and cold."

From Kansk the convicts were sent to their various places of banishment on foot, but the doctor pronounced Marie Sukloff, who was to go alone to Aleksandrovskoye, too ill to walk, and she was driven in a cart.

Throughout the journey the peasants had shown much kindness to the

* THE LIFE STORY OF A RUSSIAN EXILE — MARIE SUKLOFF. The Century Co., New York, 1914. 6s. net.

prisoners. The government allowed for their sustenance was only ten kopecks (about 2½d) a day, with which they were allowed to buy one and a-half pounds of bread on the road, but the peasant women made a practice of meeting the trains, to give them bread, milk and pies, and one woman gave Marie a pair of high felt boots to protect her from the cold.

On arriving at the village of her exile, she was housed with the church watchman. The constable was ordered to go to the house every morning to see that she was still there, and the peasants were warned that they were all responsible for her safe keeping.

The women fed her and shed tears over her, and called her a poor unfortunate orphan. But she was unhappy. The life seemed purposeless. She was constantly thinking of ways to escape. She does not seem to have considered remaining to preach revolt to the Siberian peasants, although herself a peasant. She says that for two or three days each week the priest and peasants drank heavily, spending all the money they had at the government *vodka* shop, and pawning everything they could carry out of their homes. These "drunken days" increased her desire to leave.

As soon as they learnt that she could read and write, all the village came to her, asking her to write letters to sons and husbands at the front, and to read to them every scrap of written or printed matter about the war with Japan. Then came newspapers with accounts of that "Bloody Sunday," January 9th, 1899, on which Father Gapon had led working men and women and children, singing hymns, and carrying icons and the portrait of the Czar, to petition him in his palace in St. Petersburg, (Petrograd, as we call it now). The peasants were shocked to hear that without warning, the defenceless people had been shot and trampled on by the Cossacks. Marie believed that the people would rise now, and that the day of freedom was at hand.

Promising to return, she persuaded the constable to let her go by train to Kansk, on February 1st, 1905. On arriving at Kansk she seems merely to have asked where other political prisoners lived, and quite readily to have been taken to a high government official, who had been a revolutionist, exiled to Irkutsk many years before. He made out a false passport for her, gave her a hundred roubles (£10), and his daughter's clothes.

She returned to Aleksandrovskoye, as she had promised, and from there set off, without telling anyone, to Ribinskoye, where the Orloffs lived. First she walked, then she drove. She found the Orloffs living in wretched poverty, and agreed with them that she should take their child to his grandparents in Vilna, and that they should escape later. She reached Vilna in safety, and believes that her escape was due to the fact that the police were not looking for a woman with a child.

As Vilna (which she reached on March, 5th, 1905) was near her home, she sent for her parents to come to her. They met her with grief and affection. Her father begged her to go abroad, but she refused, saying that she must fight, in order that such as they might no longer endure suffering and persecution, and that she would "*kill* the tyrants." Her father was pained by her bittterness and cried "Oh, God, what have they made of you!"

She was resolved to become a terrorist. She says that at that time terrorist doctrine had permiated every class in Russia. She went to Geneva because the leaders of the "Fighting League" were then living there.

She offered herself to the League, and after some attempts at dissuasion was accepted. It was agreed that she should assassinate first General Trepov, then General Kleigels, but in each case the suspicions of the authorities were aroused, and extraordinary precautions frustrated her attempts. She says that she was unable to kill Kleigels, because he took out with him his wife and son, who proved "an insurmountable barrier" to the Fighting League, whose members would not "shed the blood of innocent women and children," and "strictly adhered to this rule."

Marie Sukloff speaks of a "last unsatisfactory interview" with Azeff, then a "prime mover" in the Fighting League, and afterwards discovered to be a police spy. On February 17th, 1905, Ivan Kalyáev killed the Grand Duke Sergius, then Governor-General of Moscow, with a bomb. Three days later we in this country learned that 150 leaders of the working class movement had been shot without trial at Warsaw, and still others were shot on February 28th. Martial law was proclaimed at Tsarskoe-Selo. There were risings of the peasants in the Caucasus and the Volga districts. In Poland there was widespread revolt, in which the police were said to have joined. During the summer great strikes, massacres, assassinations, and uprisings followed in quick succession. Early in the spring it was reported that 40,000 of the St. Petersburg workmen had provided themselves with arms. Russia was doing badly in the war with Japan. There was a mutiny in the Black Sea Fleet. At Lodz the troops refused commands to fire upon the people. At Kronstadt the sailors refused to act as blacklegs on shore. In July, a great congress of influential Liberals was held in Moscow, to demand a constitutional government, and threatened to strike against all taxation. Such news we read in the English papers.

Marie Sukloff says:—

"Crazed with fear, the Czar locked himself in his palace, which was filled with soldiers. But the revolutionary propaganda in the army had weakened even this bulwark of Czarism, and the soldiers could no longer be trusted.

"In the meantime the political agitation in the country was assuming unheard of proportions. Partial strikes on railroads and other public and private enterprises, united into one country-wide general strike. The whole mechanism of the great empire came to a standstill. The authorities completely lost their heads, and for several days the very capital was virtually ruled by the 'council of labour deputies' elected by the workmen of St. Petersburg.

"This open and general revolt forced the Czar to yield, and on the 17th of October, 1905, he issued the famous Manifesto granting a constitution to Russia.

"On the very day after the issuing of the Czar's Manifesto, Marie Sukloff says: "the 'Black Hundred,' which consisted chiefly of the riff-raff of the city population, with an admixture of secret police agents, disguised gendarmes, and spies, took possession of Kief. They robbed and murdered the defenceless inhabitants of the city before the very eyes of the soldiers and police, and were even helped by them in their work of pillage and slaughter."

Young people formed "Self-Defence Leagues for protection against the Black Hundred." Marie Sukloff became a member, and with revolver in hand fought off the "drunken mob."

Threatened with arrest in Moscow, she went to Tchernigoff, where she was told that Governor Khvostoff was "pacifying the peasants."

Her account of what had happened there, reveals the extreme simplicity of the peasants and their pathetic faith in the brotherliness of mankind, in spite of their long experience in a bitter school.

At a meeting of the peasants Marie learnt that when they heard that the Czar had issued a Manifesto granting "liberty," they had thought that, as the year had been a bad one, and their barns were empty, they might share with the landowner his superfluous grain. They went to him offering to divide fairly. But, as they said, he "began to yell at us, and went back into the house." Supposing that he had not heard of the Manifesto, they divided the grain.

Next day an important official came with a company of Cossacks. The people thought that he had come to read to them the Czar's Manifesto. They "fetched bread and salt, and met him bowing low." But in spite of their protests they were beaten and fired upon. Eight people were killed and many wounded.

On hearing this story Marie at once resolved to kill General Kvostoff. Pretending to be a Polish school-teacher, she took a house near to his, and sat watching all day. One of her old friends from Odessa, Nicholai Shpeizman, also watched for him in another place.

It was decided to kill him on New Year's Eve. As Marie sat alone waiting for the time, there came to her door a group of masked children, who, in place of our carol singers, pay visits to people's homes in Russia, and sprinkle millet seeds about the house. She called the children in and gave them tea, and played with them. Then, suddenly, hurried them away and rushed out.

As General Kvostoff's carriage approached, her friend Nicholai, threw his bomb. It fell harmlessly on the snow. Marie threw her bomb against the carriage window. She was stunned by a terrific force.

Blood was streaming from her head. A strange woman put her into a cab, which drove to a private hospital. Marie waited till the cab-man had gone, then walked away, not knowing where. She sank down and lay on the snow inside a gateway. After it was dark a boy roused her from unconsciousness, and asked her whether she had killed the Governor. She said that she had, and the boy and an old hunch-backed man carried her to a poor house, where an old woman laid her on a bed. The police followed the trail of blood on the snow. The old woman put Marie in a wardrobe and succeeded in deceiving the police.

Marie was dressed in a soldier's coat and cap, and the boy drove her away in a sleigh. They got out of the city but were arrested in a little town next morning.

On January 18th, Marie and her friend Nicholai were sentenced to death. The boy who had tried to save her was sentenced to ten years' hard labour.

Marie had been filled with anxiety for this youth. She felt now as though a heavy load had fallen off her shoulders. "Ten years' hard labour," she said to him, "you will not have served a year when Russia will be free!" This she and her comrades then believed.

For many days Marie was kept in prison. Waiting each morning for her death, and dreading it, she yet lived in a state of joyous exhaltation, believing in the approach of freedom, and rejoicing in the patch of sky appearing through the bars.

On the seventh day she heard the voice of Nicholai Shpeizman, who had been brought to the adjoining cell. Between them was an unspoken love, which they now declared to each other through the walls.

That night Nicholai was taken to the execution. She heard the sound of the gibbet being prepared.

Next morning the Governor came to her bringing "Imperial Clemency." Her death sentence was exchanged for imprisonment for life. She says: "But a sudden void had formed within me, and there was nothing but emptiness in my soul. The thread of my inner life had broken, and I now vainly tried to gather the lost ends."

On January 27th, she started back to Siberia in fetters. On the way she joined five other young women revolutionaries: Aleksandra Izmailovitch, daughter of a general not yet returned from the Japanese War; Anastasia Bitzenko, a school-teacher; Lydia Yezerskaya, wife of the Mayor of Mohilev; Marie Spiridonova, a school-teacher; and Revecca Fialka, a dressmaker. All but the last, who was found in charge of a bomb factory and sentenced to 13 years' hard labour, had taken or attempted to take the life of some prominent personage.

The "forwarding prisons" were crowded; "it seemed as if all Russia were being exiled." The comrades still believed that freedom was at hand. The revolutionary committees in the cities through which they passed organised demonstrations in their honour, and they were hailed as saints. Flowers and jewels of rich women were thrown in the carriage to them; thousands of people flocked around the train. At Omsk an immense crowd demanded their appearance on the platform, and they were allowed out to induce the people to disperse.

In July, 1906, they were housed at last in Akatúi prison, near the Mongolian border.

Meanwhile, as we know, the authorities were setting themselves to crush the revolution. They were the more able to do so now that they had made peace with Japan. Martial Law obtained. Massacres were common, and strikers were punished by imprisonment. During a general strike in Moscow in January, 1906, 11,000 persons were said to have been killed and wounded. At Brielstock, 70,000 people were massacred.

The powers of the promised Duma were very much restricted; they might not touch "the fundamental laws of the Imperial administration." The Tsar retained much of his old absolute power, and his ministers were busy drawing up additional fundamental laws, in order to stultify the approaching Duma. The franchise for the Duma was of the narrowest, and barred out the vast majority of the workmen in the towns, though it dealt somewhat more fairly with the peasants.

Mutinies in the army and navy were of constant occurrence, and soldiers returning from the war burnt their uniforms.

The Liberals continued to meet in conference, in Moscow and St. Petersburg; they demanded universal suffrage by ballot without distinction of sex. The peasants also conferred in Moscow, and demanded common ownership of land and a democratic government. They threatened to refuse either to pay taxes, or to serve in the army, to withdraw their money from the banks, and to close the Vodka shops, which provided government revenue.

Before the coming of the revolution no such conferences were possible.

The elections for the Duma took place on March 18th. The labour movement largely held aloof as a protest against the undemocratic franchise and restricted powers of the Duma. Nevertheless, an overwhelming reform majority was elected.

The Tsar created a council to override the decisions of the Duma, but finding himself unable completely to suppress the elected chamber, he dissolved the first Duma on July 21st. The franchise was still further restricted, and many candidates were arbitrarily excluded, but at the elections in February, 1907, an even more determinedly reform Duma was elected. This, in its turn, was dissolved by the Tsar.

Meanwhile the Tsar and his counsellors secured money to aid them in their struggle against the people, by means of a loan, which was partially subscribed in this country, and, in spite of protests by the British Labour Party, our Government was entering into friendly relations with the Tsar. These things we can recall for ourselves by turning over the leaves of our journals of 1906-7.

Marie Sukloff tells us that as the revolution was crushed, and the power of the Duma suppressed, the prisoners in Siberia were more rigorously dealt with. Marie Sukloff shows that there was general mismanagement and corruption. In prisons built for 50 persons, upwards of 100 were habitually confined. Political prisoners were beaten and kept in chains, and some committed suicide. The prison officials, notably the Governor of

(*Continued on page 236, col. 2.*)

DISTRICT REPORTS.

BOW.

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.

The Club will now be held on Mondays and Fridays from 8 to 10. It was decided at the meeting on Friday that members should pay 1d. a week to the Club.

Our At Home will be held on Friday the 23rd. Tickets for non-members can be obtained on application by members. Members themselves do not need tickets. Self-Denial week starts also on the 23rd. Please help in every way you can to raise money for the funds.

The usual weekly meeting will be held on Sunday at the Women's Hall. The speakers next Sunday will be Miss S. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drake, Miss Fedden. Will members volunteer to do chalking, canvassing, and help in other ways to make these meetings a success?

BROMLEY.

Joint Hon. Secretaries:
MRS. MCCHEYNE & MRS. MANTLE,
53 St. Leonard Street.

Everyone enjoyed Mrs. Walker's address on Tuesday last, but we should like a larger attendance, so will members please let their friends know there is a meeting held at the shop every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, and bring some along with them.

POPLAR.

THE WOMEN'S HALL, 20 RAILWAY ST.
Organiser: MRS. DRAKE.

Mr. Carlton Smith gave instructive lecture on the "State and the Child," at our Tuesday evening meeting. Our members would like to hear him again. We had a good meeting in Chrisp Street on Wednesday. The choir meeting held the same evening was not so well attended. Mr. Drake is willing to conduct this choir, but if more members do not come along he will have to give it up. Please make another effort and let us see what we can do. Our speaker on Friday afternoon was Miss Thompson; Mrs. Bird in the chair. At the stall in Chrisp Street on Saturday, 36 papers were sold, between the hours of 3 and 6 p.m.

A good many members have taken collecting boxes for Self Denial week. Any other suggestions welcomed.

There will be no meeting *this* Friday afternoon owing to the "At Home" being held at 400 Old Ford Rd, Bow, 4—11 p.m.

Dreadnoughts sold week ending April 17—133. Collections — Mrs. Bird 12.7½, Mrs. Drake 8.1½, Miss Lagsding 4.2.

HACKNEY.

Offices: 175 DALSTON LANE
(Facing Hackney Downs Station).

Papers can be obtained at this address at any time.

We had two splendid speakers in Hackney this week.

Thanks to Miss Young for distribution of papers in Hackney, also to Mrs. Milward for taking a collecting box, with which we wish her every success. Several members are taking bills for distribution at picture palaces, a splendid means of advertisement.

We are looking forward to a public meeting the first or second week in May. Please watch the paper closely for definite announcement, as we are confident that members will help to make this meeting a huge success.

Will members who have not paid their subscriptions this month please do so?

Papers sold 15; distributed 250.

SOUTH-EAST LONDON E.L.F.S.

Hon. Secretary: Miss BALCHIN,
39 Radnor Street, Peckham.

Our meeting on April 14th was well attended, and quite a large audience listened with very keen interest to Mr. Booth's splendid speech on "A Strange World," which was followed by an animated discussion. Our speaker on April 28th, will be Mr. Bernard Trappschuh, the Editor of *Health and Vim*. Will friends and members please turn up in good numbers again? Two more subscribers have been added to the *Dreadnought*. Members are reminded that Self Denial week commences on Friday, April 23rd; can we not send up a small sum of money from *our* branch? Secretary will be glad to receive contributions, however small.

MORE PUNISHMENT OF SOLDIERS' WIVES.

A private in the Essex Regiment had the misfortune to miss the boat on his way back to his regiment and was put in prison for a month. His wife's allowance was immediately stopped. After some correspondence the War Office sent her £2, which they told her was half her month's money. As a matter of fact, half her month's money would amount to £2 7s. as she is entitled to £1 3s. 6d. a week. Therefore, even on its own showing, the War Office has done her out of 10s. But it has been announced in Parliament that women are not to have any of their money docked for the misdeeds of their husbands. It is surely a scandalous breach of faith that such cases should continue.

A Committee consisting of five men and one woman, has been appointed to act as a Court of Appeal in cases of dispute regarding separation allowances to soldier's dependents.

(Continued from page 235.)

Maltzev Prison, sold the material provided for the prisoners' clothing, their food and firewood. Monies sent for repairs were misappropriated. Horrible outrages were perpetrated on non-political prisoners, and the offenders went unpunished.

Early in the book Marie Sukloff tells us that her aunt, a young married woman of 34, was way-laid, half killed, terribly mutilated about the face, and buried alive by the son of a neighbouring landowner, whose punishment was remitted through his father's influence.

Outside the Maltzev Prison, to which Marie Sukloff was transferred from Akatúi, was a barracks, half of which was occupied by soldiers, half by women ex-convicts. Presumably the poor prisoners had no money to take them to their homes, and on their release were obliged to occupy the only shelter offered. The soldiers perpetrated "most atrocious acts of violence" on these women, and many died as a result. Others were killed because of their resistance. A young Tartar woman, who had a child of two years, was strangled the night she came out of prison.

In the summer of 1910, Marie Sukloff developed appendicitis. She was taken to a hospital cell, a most exceptional privilege, and an assistant was sent for, but the resident doctor was drunk and refused to operate. In the autumn she was removed to Irkutsk prison, but the doctor there could not operate alone, and for eight months private physicians refused to do so in the dirty ill-equipped hospital.

But at last the operation was performed, and Marie was told that she must return to Akatúi. Irkutsk Prison was in the centre of the town, and she determined to escape whilst she was there.

Her story of how she accomplished this is difficult to believe.

Marie appears to have found no difficulty in communicating with revolutionary friends outside. Soon she was provided with a revolver and a man's suit of clothes, which she kept inside her pillow, and had arranged for a carriage to be at the prison gates at a certain hour. In the night she put on the man's clothes under her outer cloak, cut her hair, and covered it with a scarf.

In the exercise yard she sent her keeper for a book.

The prison gate did not reach the ground. A board was attached to the gate to fill up the opening. A sentry was pacing up and down outside. Whilst his back was turned, Marie let her prison cloak fall, stooped down, removed the board, crawled under the gate, and stood up as the sentry turned. The sentry fired. The bullet passed over Marie's head. She jumped into the waiting carriage, shooting in the air to keep back pursuers. The carriage drove speedily away.

Marie left the carriage at a "sumptuous residence." Went in, changed her clothes, and went out by the back door. She moved to another house, then to another, even to a fourth, on the same night. The police were searching for her with a bloodhound. Convicts who knew her were released to join in the hunt.

During the next weeks all sorts of people housed her. A colonel in the Russian army came to her aid, saying: "I do not agree with your ideas, but as a man I highly value heroism." Thereafter, she spent six days in the houses of various army officers. The police now believed that she had escaped to Switzerland. As they slightly relaxed their vigilance she was able to get out of the town, dressed as a Sister of Mercy, and over the Manchurian border as a bride.

In China, where she was shocked by the miserable condition of the people, the houses "no better than dog-kennels," the beggars, and the women bought and sold for prostitution "like horses," she went still in fear of discovery and arrest, for she knew that the Chinese police would immediately hand her over to the Russian Consul if her identity were discovered.

At last she was able to take ship for Genoa. She was free, but her heart told her that she must soon return to her comrades in the struggle.

Stories like this should call back any who may have left it to freedom's standard. We, too, must continue unceasingly our struggle for the upward development of our race. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

(Continued from front page.)

their workmen who are fighting at the front, are already being broken on every hand.

All sorts of excuses are being made for evading the duty of giving equal pay for equal work. We are told, for instance, that in the grocery trade women are already being taken on in large numbers to replace men, and that the work is being re-arranged. Formerly, the same grocer's assistant as a rule was employed on both counter and warehouse work. Now we learn that where the number of men is halved, the women are kept altogether at counter work, the men at warehouse work. The men, it is assumed, will be paid the same wage that they always had; the women who do the counter work will receive a smaller wage. Yet we know that where men and men are concerned, counter work is considered the more skilled branch, and where the work is divided, assistants behind the counter tend to be paid a higher rate than those who are in the warehouse.

The re-arrangement of work so that a smaller number of men are employed to do warehouse work only, and women are taken on for counter work only, would not prove more costly to the employer than the old system, if the men and women were now to be paid at equal rates.

If the principle of equal pay for equal work, both on piece and time rates, were rigidly adhered to, employers who might fear that women would not work as quickly as men, would endeavour wherever possible to place their workers upon piece rates. At the present time they will strive to put all the women workers on time rates in order that they may continue to pay them at lower rates.

RESOLUTIONS adopted by the National Conference on War Service for Women, called by the Workers' National War Emergency Committee, Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., Friday, April 16th, 1915:—

1.—(*a*) That all women who register for War Service should immediately join the appropriate Trade Union in the trade for which she is volunteering service; and that membership of such organisation should be the condition of her employment for War Service; and that those men's Trade Unions which do not already do so shall be asked to admit women as members;

(*b*) That where a woman is doing the same work as a man she should receive the same rate of pay, and that the principle of equal pay for equal work should be rigidly maintained;

(*c*) That in no case should any woman be drafted from the War Register to employment at less than an adequate living wage, and that the stereotyping of sweated conditions must at all costs be avoided;

(*d*) That adequate training with maintenance, which shall not in any case be less than the value of £1 per week, should be provided for suitable women whom it is proposed to place in employment under the foregoing conditions, and that in choosing candidates for such training, preference should be given, where suitability is equal, to the normal woman wage-earner now unemployed;

(*e*) That in any readjustment of staffs which may have to be effected after the War priority of employment shall be given to the workmen whose places have been filled by women;

(*f*) That the women who are misplaced in this way shall be guaranteed employment.

2.—That this Conference demands that the Advisory Committee of Workers appointed by the Government for facilitating the carrying out of the proposals for the acceleration of output on Government work should include representatives of organised women workers; this Committee should advise the Board of Trade as to detailed terms and conditions upon which arrangements can be made for the transference of women from one trade or district to another for work formerly done by men, and that before giving such advice the Advisory Committee shall consult the organised representatives of the trade or section of trade concerned, so that any action may be taken in the closest co-operation with the Trade Union interested. And that in any Court of Arbitration which may be set up for dealing with trade disputes during the War representatives of women workers shall be appointed.

3.—That this Conference representative of the Women's Trade Union, Labour, Socialist, Co-operative, Suffrage and kindred organisations, whilst desiring to co-operate with the Government to the fullest possible extent in taking what steps may be necessary for the protection and defence of the country, and whilst welcoming the frankness with which the Government has publicly announced the co-operation of women to be essential, expresses the conviction that it would be illogical, inconsistent, and most unjust to delay unnecessarily the full rights of citizenship to women upon whom it has now been demonstrated beyond doubt, duties so heavy and responsible must fall in times of war, and calls upon the Government for a definite assurance that at the earliest possible moment the long overdue reform of universal suffrage will be dealt with.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMIES.

The Post Office employees asked for an increase in wages more than seven weeks ago. On April 20th, Mr. Hobhouse in the House of Commons refused a war bonus to Post Office employees on the ground that the rise in the cost of living must be borne by all classes, and said that the Government could not afford to do it. Yet, when the Labour Party asked the Government to control the food prices, Mr. Runciman replied: "No, the thing for you to do is to ask for higher wages."

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND. Profits on Club (per Mrs Lansbury) 5.0, Miss D Beningfield 5.0, Miss Comber and Miss Putnam 5.0, Collection Poplar 2.6.

FOR MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Dudley Percival, Esq 5.0.0, Mrs Wedgwood 3.0.0, Miss Woolley 2.0.0, Mrs Renny 2.0.0, Mrs Harverson and children 1.0.0, Mrs Lancaster 1.0.0, Lady Kennedy 1.0.0, Mr and Mrs Powell 1.0.0, Miss Yeoman (weekly) 10.0, Anon (Hornsey) 10.0, Anon 10.0, Mrs Ames 7.6, Mr and Mrs Solomon 7 6, Miss Braun 5.0, Miss Bradish 5.0, Miss N Fleming 5.0, Dr Miller 5 0 Mrs Dawson Clark 5.0, C D Broad 5.0, Miss M Haldane Eckford 5.0, C.E.L. 3.10, Miss E Fallon 3.0, Miss Brabner 2.6, Mrs Hamilton Ramsey 2.6, J W Diboll, Esq 2.6, Miss E Kirby 2.6, Miss I Jones (weekly) 2.0, Nurse Woolf 2.0, Mrs Powles (weekly) 1.0, A working woman (fortnightly) 1.0, Mrs Tredgett 1.0, Mr J Wilkinson 0.9, Miss Langelaan 0 6.

COLLECTIONS. Newport meeting 3.17.6½, Anon 10.0, Mrs Crabb 7.11½, Mrs Browne 3.5½, Miss Mackay 2.8, Mrs Bird 12.7½, Mrs Drake 8.1½, Miss Lagsding 4.2, Mrs Baillie Weaver 4.7½.

COLLECTED FOR BABIES. Mrs Von Krafft 1.15.0, Miss E G Harris 1.0.0, Miss E Gore Brown and Mrs Empson 1.0.0, Miss C Bagster 5.0, Mrs Price 3.6, Anon (Southampton) 3.0, Miss Francis Rintel 3 6, Miss Mary Parr 2.8, Mrs Brewer 2.6, Miss D L Dubock 2.6, Mrs Eleanor Mayne 2.2, G Willis' little girl 2.0, Miss Gilliat 17.4½.

CLOTHES, ETC. Miss Lettice Floyd, Miss Brass, Miss G Halsey, Mrs Stevens, Miss Goldfinch, Miss Leonora Williams, Some Cardiff W.S.P.U. members, Miss Morgan-Jones, Mrs Apthorpe, Anon (Maida Vale), Anon.

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